00139

1969/04/10

NSSM 19 – SVN internal security.
Not select. for rev. in NSC.

4/10/69 NSSM 36

Timetable for Vietnamizing the war.

DOD respons. in coord. with State + Defense.

Assumptions:

Start July 1.

Current VC + NVN force levels (no mutual withdrawal.)

Current projections of RVNAF force levels.

No deescalation.

Highest priority for training + equipping.

Alternative timetables for transfer of combat role to GVN + restriction of US role to combat support + advisory mission only:

12/31/70
6/30/71
12/31/71
12/31/72

Due June 1 = outline + recs for July-Dec 1969.
Complete report due Sept. 1.

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NSSM 37 - 4/10/69

Studies by ad hoc IG on V-N.

a) Mutual withdrawal modalities. Timetables, phasing, types of personnel, regroupment, local cease-fires, etc. Due - 5/16/69

b) Withdrawals thru Vietnamizing. Based on Sec Def timetable (NSSM 36). Due: June 13, 1969.

c) Verification for Mutual Withdrawal: cover joint belligerent commissions, reactivation of the ICC, + creation of new int'l groups (such as an Asian body). (Due 5/16/69)

d) Political Settlement for SVN: cover elections at all levels, sharing of gov'm't power before and/or after elections, constitutional considerations, agreed or de facto territorial accomodations,

decentralization of gov't. power.
Reactions of all concerned (NVN, SVN, NLF, SVN populace, etc.), + likely evolution.
Possible US. role.

e/ International guarantees for:
- mutual withdrawal
- political settlement in SVN
- DMZ
- etc.

problems + how to negotiate them.

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[illegible] 2/3/[illegible]

[redacted]

NSDM 9 4/1/69

- no deescalation
- " " proposals at Paris
- if DRV raises, Paris to listen.

All U.S. "combat forces" are subject to withdrawal, if Hanoi ~~meets~~ agrees to provisions ~~for~~:

- verification + supervision of withdrawal.
- NVN leave Laos + Cam. as well as SVN.
- guarantees to maintain the agreement.

Don't repudiate Manila 6 mos., but can define when NVN troops have left. ∴ timing not important.

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NSC mtgs:

June 11 – Mut. withdrawal + Political Settlement

July 2 – Vietnamizing.

US. position

US/GVN div. of labor

US lead → Bombing cessation + circumstances of talks.

- Laos + Cambodia
- Intl supervision + guarantees
- US POW's.

-

GVN lead -

- NVN presence in SVN, level of violence, etc.
- VC actions
- GVN POW's.
- non-interference in internal affairs of each zone.

Mutual interest

- DMZ
- Withdrawal of external forces
- Cessation of hostilities agreements

? - did GVN agree?

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TCC participation

7 Nation mtg. communiqué 4/20-21/67

GVN to be full participant in negot. Others to participate "in any settlement of the conflict".

RS - TL views on how to get it moving.

Nature of political settlement.

etc.

? of agreed reduction in hostilities.

TL - Brief on inspection: [illegible] but need not keep in own hands ~~[illegible]~~ right to judge whether NVN withdrawing as agreed ~~if~~ can pin blame on others.

C-fire + problem of legitimizing VC control.

C-fire in DMZ?

Approaches

Prob. of right of GVN to call for

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[illegible]

assistance. ? re assistance if no external invasion, but external support of subversion.

II A - Re c-f

US/GVN agree -

a total c-f should not allow the enemy forces to control SVN territory. c-f Only OK where principal conditions of settlement met.

Partial c-f in some areas OK if in our interest. (NVN wouldn't accept).

GVN wants VC to go north. We only go as far as regroupees. Not with principle of non-forcible repatriation.

? of admin. rights in regroupment areas. GVN - under GVN. US - under enemy for limited period.

?: of for. mil. bases - GVN yes, US No and of for. mil. personnel - US no. ? of limited no. of

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training & advisory personnel open.

Equip & supplies OK.

GVN wld. ask assistance against external armed attack. GVN has implied shld be able to ask for help against internal.

—

. Japan, etc.

Consensus on expanded ICC, with no veto, staffed by internat'l civ servants.

—

GVN - ICC to expand to Camb. & Laos.

US - Only re V-N. ~~[illegible]~~ Wld. have to renegot. whole 1954 & 1962 agreements

—

~~US shld not withdraw forces~~

~~if [illegible]~~

If must have a c-f, have one with no restrictions on movement or resupply.

—

Future status of VC -

1) ~~laying~~ down of arms +

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[illegible] existing agreement entirely.

Cld. have pol. comp. with arms, but tacit agreement not to use them.

Best - Nat'l Rec.

~~TL - put time limits on cease-fires.~~

> TL c. fires in areas, trading off: Sgn for Camau, etc. Link to pol. accom. DMZ for Quang Ngai, etc.

Well defined, Rights of movement, etc.

State - No legit. conferred.

~~First~~ US c-f agreement acceptance for X days, to be extended if progress in talks.

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II B

Paris 24704 Nov. 30, 1968

History of US pub. statements on c-f.

Nam-Tho - "level of violence thus subsides" - does not refer to violence among SVNese after NVN out.

Imp. of linking c-f + withdrawal.

Paris - respond by agreeing in principle + working out details, to circ. mutual withdrawal.

? of timing of NVN troops out from SVN, from Camb + Laos,

6 wks. vs 6 mos.

6 mo. OK

Hanoi unlikely to admit troops in SVN. Unilat. withdrawal (what %?) after settlement US + ~~other~~ remaining troops - also Laos.

Paris 24229 Nov. 21/68

Quotes Harriman - Tho Sept. 15 - Withdrawal wld. be seen in terms, etc. = Manila. Also, see above re "level of violence" formula.

[illegible] - ?s of NVA in Laos & Camb.

? of "fillers" - in I, II & III

Corps ~~fillers~~ NVA now over 75% of VC main force units.

? of reinfiltration.

TL - sent later fundamental on intl CC operations, powers, etc. Re inspection, response to reinfiltration, etc.

[illegible] - GVN must be only armed force in country after settlement ∴ nat'l

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rec ≥ all VC to north.

↑ US + GVN ↑ GVN

TL - N.S.

TL - ? of separate Laos agreement - partition?

Paris 00559 15 Jan 67
- GVN willing to fall back from position of all VC to north.

TL - Ask Hanoi, if withdraw 50 thou from say Kontum, ~~get [illegible]~~? would they [illegible]? Too simple.
Needs tot. US withdrawal + c.f + polit. accom.

Insp. of DMZ -

Intn'l Police Force,
by this or some other name.

Extension - expanded ICC.

Joint Commission.

Indo.

VC to take part?

Better -
GVN - DRV.

Raise DMZ at Paris as first item, converting tacit understandings into more substantive agreements; then est. a c'tee to undertake details of verification + inspection in the DMZ.

Jt Commission, then full fledged Int'l police force + ICC.

easiest to agree on at first.

No man's land in both parts of the DMZ the goal.

? of prisoners –

As of 5/68
GVN holds about 12,000 Comm.
PW's, of whom about 2500 are NVA.

Advant. of following Laos
pattern – GVN, NLF & DRV negot.
release of all V-N prisoners, w/o US
ICC or ICRC partic.

US - DRV negot. on US prisoners.

Unresolved ? re prisoners held by NLF,
will deal with NLF if nec.

Laos – How to separate DRV infil.,

DRV withdrawing all the way to DRV, DRV from supporting PL, + DRV in divided Laos?

Which most imp?

Get New understanding of Co-Chairmen that each will police observance by his side?

Sull – ICC or other can't block personnel, only vehicles, etc., thru panhandle. ∴ for practical purposes, concentrate on getting inspection of Annamite passes + roads. Keep larger issues in public statements, etc.

DRV will launch campaign for Laos bombing ↓, restoration of coalition. which we might accept Souvanna

US interests: Mekong valley, – Panhandle.

Idea of a permanent supervisory body for SEA.

Sull. - Only chgs re Laos & Camb - US troops

Probs. with Sihanouk over ICC presence in Cambodia

JRos: papers on pol. settlements:

~~[illegible]~~ Electoral commission —

control over police.

Reject intn'l commission as ineffective & to NVN advant.

Undermine GVN sovereignty.

Ditto re interim or provisional gov'ts.

Neutral Commission — how to find "neutral" V-Nese? Need a prov. gov't. re appeals.

Jt. Comm. — equal reps.

Negotiate issues. ∴ GVN (& NLF) veto power.

Workable?

Modified GVN Commission.

Modify cent'l & local elec. councils to inc. neutrals and/or NLF reps.

NLF prob. wouldn't accept.

∴, nat'l level ~~commission~~ n.g. under present crisis + level of agreement.

Modified GVN comm. ~~bett~~.

Th. But ~~absolutely~~ prob. unaccept. to VC

as a GVN commission ~~in~~, w/ GVN

~~Make it neutral.~~ majority.)

Elections: Pres/VP - Sept.'71

137 mbrs Lower House - Oct'71

30 of 60 Senators - Sept.'70

→ Prov.-Mun. Councils - at GVN's direction

→ Vill./Ham. elections. -

over 40% of ham + vills already

Prob. of de facto partition happen

+ legitimize VC control in some areas.

Prov. Chiefs + Mayors - all by Oct. 1971

No electoral law yet

Cons. Changes - Expand Lower Chamber, Cld. be done under the constitution.

Or, resig. & new election of President.

- Elections involving constitutional amendments. ~~[illegible]~~

other - abolish Art. 4 prohibiting comms.

accelerate Senate or Lower House elections.

New constitution & elections.

- Flexible & maybe good prop.

But - Undermine system.

Referendum - might be useful on such issues as Comm vs. non-Comm.

Over-all

II - linkages and packages